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# IBS JoS

*IBScientific Journal of Science*

An Open Access Peer Reviewed Multidisciplinary Journal

Volume 1 Issue 2 | July 2006  
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In this Issue:

## **Language Policy and Planning in Algeria**



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## A time to Contemplate and... Celebrate!

It's already July and the Academic year is drawing to a fast end. A time typically coupled with wondering how the year passed by, and wondering when it's going to stop raining.

During these months time rapidly becomes the most precious blessing - or we finally realise that it is. The end of the academic year has always marked the end of an era, and indeed the start of a new one. It is so special an occasion that it must not pass by like any other day. Such occasions must be seized as an opportunity to reflect, contemplate, review, evaluate and also celebrate, to praise as well as to repent, to innovate, renew and to make new

resolutions.

In IBScientific, our special occasion at this time of the year is the second issue of IBS Journal of Science. It is our opportunity to reflect and review. We are thrilled with the response about the first issue that we received from our readers and glad that our journal has already made its way into your agenda. However, we have no intention of restraining our ambitions for the coming issues to give this publication the position it deserves.

This issue of IBS Journal of Science is also a cause for celebration. It marks the passing of one year since the birth of IBScientific publications. It has in-

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deed been amazing to see our publications grow in size, improve in design, include new innovative features and more importantly attract new talented writers and readers. It is also a cause of innovation because on this happy occasion, we are happy to introduce a new comer namely the IBScientific Annual Conference, which will bring us together in the next coming weeks.

One of our goals from the previous publications was to broaden the scope of our articles. This issue features our first social sciences article. You will find a thorough overview of the current status and future trends of language planning in third-world country Algeria, a nation known for its multicultural diversity. Broadly speaking, language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of society with respect to the acquisition and structure of language. It involves the development of goals, objectives and strategies to change the way language is used.

The article values the efforts of IBScientific on developing science in the third world. That is, language planning, being a tool for the establishment of standardised national languages has often been strongly coupled with the developing world. It contributes to modernising and building nations.

Finally I would like to encourage all readers to consider submitting a manuscript IBS Journal of Science. The options we offer are wide open and we look forward to involving you in the future of scholarly publication and discussion. As always, if you would like to contribute to the journal, help with editing, production, graphic design

or our new, enhanced, website, don't hesitate to get in touch with us.

So celebrate with us and make this is a special occasion for you too. We will be looking forward to welcoming you at our conference.

I very much hope you enjoy this issue

**Sofiane Naci**  
IBScientific Managing Editor

## Do You Speak Algerian?

---

**Preview by:**

Nisrine Amel LAMAMRA

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Language planning in Algeria has been a highly debated process since the country obtained its independence from France in 1962. Some of the questions that arose in post-independence Algeria were the place the French language was to have in Algerian society and the role of what had until then been deemed a local dialect, Tamazight. Should French, the coloniser's language, be placed at the same level of importance as Arabic by making it a national language of Algeria? Also, should the languages of the original people of Algeria, which are grouped under the name of Tamazight, be granted this status along with Arabic? Allowing Arabic to come into competition in such a way was deemed dangerous by many, as France's rule over Algeria was fresh on policy makers' minds. Thus, in allowing French to remain at the forefront of Algerian society, it was believed policy makers would allow a form of colonialism to live on. Further complications arose from the deliberations on the status of Algeria's, and indeed North Africa's, oldest languages, which are spoken by the original inhabitants of the region.

Algeria was originally inhabited by various indigenous groups who spoke varieties of Tamazight. These peo-

ple were first colonised by Arabs in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.C., and from then on, these two groups have cohabited more or less peacefully. Nonetheless, since the liberation of Algeria from French rule, these Berbers, as they are called, began to pressure the government for recognition of their rights, one of which the right to have their tongue declared national and official language of Algeria. These linguistic matters have had much echo in Algerian society. More than forty years after independence from France, the importance of these languages is still being deliberated by civil society and politicians alike. In recent years, conflict has broken out in Kabylie, a region of Algeria inhabited in large part by the Kabyle Berbers, in which one of the demands of the insurgents was equal footing with Arabic for their language. Furthermore, in February of this year, the current President of Algeria, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, closed down private schools which taught in French, thereby sparking a debate about the value of the Algerian system of education and its insufficient formation in the French language.

Algerian language policy raised and continues to raise a number of questions on the identity of the Algerian people. A language is a peoples' soul, and it seems that Algeria is still struggling to articulate its national identi-

ty. Benghida's article [1] presented in this issue of IBScientific is an invaluable first step towards understanding the complexities of Algerian language planning. It offers easy-to-follow definitions of each of the languages spoken in the country and clearly exposes the problems faced by Algeria in this domain.

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[1] S. Benghida (2006). *Language Planning and Policy Attitudes in Algeria*. *IBS Journal of Science*, 1 (2), 34-39.

# **IBS JoS**

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## The “Warburg-Effect” Is it all about p53?

### Commentary on:

Matoba, S., Kang, J. G., Patino, W. D., Wragg, A., Boehm, M., Gavrillova, O., Hurley, P. J., Bunz, F., and Hwang, P. M. (2006). p53 regulates mitochondrial respiration. *Science* 312, 1650-1653.

By **Abderrahmane KAIDI**

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Glycolysis refers to the initial steps in glucose breakdown that occurs in the cytoplasm of virtually all mammalian cells and has no requirement for oxygen (O<sub>2</sub>) per se. The end product of glycolysis is pyruvate, which is in turn metabolised in the mitochondria through oxidative phosphorylation (aerobic respiration) to generate energy stored as ATP molecules. It has been observed, for a while, that tumours have an upregulated glycolytic activity and seem to favour glycolysis as a mean for energy generation, even in the presence of adequate O<sub>2</sub> levels; this phenomenon is known as the “Warburg-Effect”. Notably, increased glycolysis in tumours appears to correlate with tumour aggressiveness (reviewed by Gatenby and Gillies, 2004), suggesting that glycolysis may have a critical role in tumourigenesis. However, the molecular mechanism that underlies this metabolic shift in tumours has not been genetically defined. Paul Hwang and colleagues report in *Science* that the widespread of glycolysis in tumours may be, at least in part, mediated through the inactivation of the TP53 tumour suppressor gene (Matoba et al., 2006) one of the most commonly mutated genes in human cancers (Saadi, 2006).

The hypothesis that led to this investigation was a simple one. Since metabolic alterations are a hallmark of cancer cells, the author reasoned that the widespread of glycolysis must be related to a

pathway that is commonly mutated in human cancer. This indeed turned out to be TP53 (the gene that encode p53 tumour suppressor).

Initially the authors assessed the levels of O<sub>2</sub> consumption by liver-mitochondria derived from Trp53<sup>-/-</sup> (knockout), Trp53<sup>+/-</sup> (heterozygous-mutant), and Trp53<sup>+/+</sup> (wild type) mice showing that O<sub>2</sub> consumption decreased significantly with the loss of Trp53 with an allelic-dosage dependency. Similar results were obtained with HCT116 colon cancer cells with these genotypes TP53<sup>-/-</sup>, TP53<sup>+/-</sup>, and TP53<sup>+/+</sup>. Interestingly, although the O<sub>2</sub> consumption was decreased, the production of ATP by HCT116 was the same regardless of the p53 status of the cells, suggesting that indeed p53-deficient cancer cells have enhanced glycolysis, thus favour glycolysis as mean of energy production instead of aerobic respiration. Because of these findings, one would predict that increased glycolysis with deprivation of aerobic respiration would result in increased levels of lactate. Indeed, examination of lactate production revealed that p53-deficient cells produced more lactic acid than the ones expressing p53.

The authors then went on to determine the mechanism by which loss of p53 suppressor results in increased glycolytic rate. For this, examination of a serial analysis of gene expression (SAGE) from p53-efficient and p53-proficient HCT116 cells looking for possible clues was performed. The



investigators' attention was drawn by the SCO2 gene (SCO2: synthesis of cytochrome c oxidase 2), whose expression was nine-fold higher in cells with intact p53. SCO2 is an enzyme that regulates cytochrome c oxidase complex, a critical component of the aerobic respiration and oxidative phosphorylation. The SAGE data regarding SCO2 expression was confirmed by looking at the levels of SCO2 protein expression in relation to p53 status. SCO2 protein level were markedly reduced in HCT116 (TP53<sup>-/-</sup>) and also in mitochondria derived from Trp53<sup>-/-</sup> knockout mice. To further substantiate the evidence for the link between p53-loss, SCO2-downregulation and decreased O<sub>2</sub> consumption, the investigators overexpressed SCO2 in HCT116 (TP53<sup>-/-</sup>), DLD1 (mutant TP53) and SW480 (mutant TP53) colon cancer cells. The results showed that ectopic expression of SCO2 overcame the loss of p53 and increased O<sub>2</sub> consumption, indicting the activation of aerobic respiration. Furthermore, the authors confirmed these data by showing that when: 1) p53 expression was knocked down by siRNA in parental HCT116 or 2) the SCO2 allele was disrupted by homologous recombination, oxygen consumption was significantly reduced thereby photocopying the effect of loss of p53.

These findings point to a role of p53 in transcriptional induction of SCO2, as well as finding that in-

ducible ectopic expression of p53 increased SCO2 mRNA levels, the authors identified a p53 binding-site in intron 1 of SCO2 that was sufficient to induce luciferase reporter activity by p53.

This study provides an interesting link between an important genetic event that contribute to tumorigenesis (p53 loss of function) and metabolic alterations manifesting in upregulated glycolysis, which is a hallmark of tumours. This once again, highlights the multifunctional nature of p53 tumour suppressor and provides evidence for a previously uncharacterised function for p53 in metabolic regulation. The model proposed in this study, although very comprehensive, still requires further investigation in human tumours.

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## Language Planning and Policy Attitudes in Algeria

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### ABSTRACT

The goal of this paper is to lay the crucial questions upon the table and expose briefly certain apparent contradictions in Algeria's language policy. For Algerians, language is inextricably bound up with their country's identity, be it Arab, Islamic or Berber, and has become the subject of passionate arguments and ideological confrontations. 44 years after its independence, the country is still struggling to reconcile the various aspects of its personality. Arabic, Tamazight and French are all building a multilingual Algeria, but this reality is ignored by a language policy called Arabisation which gives priority to Standard Arabic, the sole official language representing Algeria's identity and religion. Algerian Arabic and Berber, the real mother tongues of most Algerians, are ignored, and French, the language of the ex-colonisers, is rejected as the language of imperialism. The present official linguistic policy proceeds by constraint and exclusion and favours monolingualism. There were many reactions against this policy especially from the part of Berbers. The issue of language affects issues of feeling and identity and is clearly a very sensitive one.

After exploring briefly the current Algerian language terrain, the paper exposes the incoherence of language policy in Algeria which has led to serious problems and conflicts. The paper therefore, highlights the necessity to move towards a better language policy which constructs a consensus around the acceptance of pluralism.

**KEYWORDS:** language planning, Arabisation, Arab nationalism, identity, Berber, pluralism, rights.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Algeria is a complex multilingual country which for some 44 years has pursued a simple and rapid language policy: Arabisation. This policy has the apparent aim of creating a monolingual nation by seeking to restore the role and place of Arabic following the French colonisation that lasted 132 years. Certainly, Algeria was not the first to face, soon after independence, the long and heated debate on whether to maintain the ex-colonial language beside the national language (bilingualism: French-Arabic) or to reinstate the language of 'authenticity' as the only language of state and society (Arabisation: Arabic). This problem is common in all countries that emerged as new nations in Asia and Africa during the period following World War II. Many new states exhibited the desire for two goals:

(1) To establish their identity through the language and revival of tradition.

(2) To modernize through industrialization and transfer of Western technology.

As a consequence, these states were caught in a language dilemma and many conflicts generated in the interactions between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. It is in this way that the intelligentsia (the intellectual elite) was split into two major groups: traditional and Western-educated or modernizers (Mansouri, 2003: 4). The first group calls for authenticity and national culture that can be achieved through the Arabic language, and the second one, among bureaucrats and technocrats and Berbers<sup>1</sup>, supports the policies of bilingualism and Westernization to access economic development.

Henceforth, language is considered: 'a form of cultural practice and as an inevitable site of ideological contestation involving asymmetrical power relations between groups and individuals' (Suleiman, 2004: 7). Language encapsulates specific values and beliefs of a group and acts as a significant instrument for shaping and describing reality by influencing people's perceptions and interpretations of that reality. After all, language helps determine our view of our selves, our surroundings, relationships and ideologies. Simply, it helps determine who we are. In this respect, how do Algerians identify themselves? It was only in 1996 that the Constitution recognized the Algerian identity as having 'Arabic', 'Islamic' and 'Amazigh' (or Berber) components. Indeed, before that date, the Amazigh component has long been ignored because the state did not wish to distinguish between

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Arabs and Berbers, but rather preferred to qualify them all as Arab Algerians. Definitions of 'Arab' and 'Berber' will be offered and the general sociolinguistic situation of Algeria will be touched upon in the following paper.

## 2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

### 2.1 The Algerian Population

Bordering the Mediterranean Sea, between Morocco and Tunisia, Algeria is more than three times the size of the American state of Texas. Its population, mainly very young, of over 30 million is concentrated mainly in the northern part of the country, where the majority live in urban centres.

Algerian Arabophones (those who mostly speak Arabic) constitute 72% of Algeria's people (Leclerc, 2006). Approximately 27.4% of the population is counted as Berberophones, speaking one of the several varieties of Berber. And it is estimated that 67% of the total population has some knowledge of French. These percentages are necessarily approximate because there are no precise statistics on this topic.

Many studies support the idea that all North African, including Algerians, are descended from Berbers (Ibn Khaldun, 1995, Gabriel Camps, 1980, and Salem Shaker, 1984). Other historians disagree about that conception and tried to prove that Berbers and Arabs have the same Arabic origins (Mohamed Al-Mukhtâr Al-'Arbawi, 1993, Othman Saadi, etc.). This complex debate about the constitution of the population reflects the complexity of Algeria's linguistic profile. Broadly speaking, the arguments used to separate the two communities are either ethnic or linguistic (Morsly, 1997: 42-43). The first argument states that Berbers are all those who speak Tamazight, i.e., those who speak at least one variety of the existing Berber languages. In this respect, Berber and Arab identity is defined by language rather than ancestry. However, many lose their Berber language and become arabicised but still consider themselves Berbers. The second argument points out the weak number of Arab Muslim conquerors, thereby stating that it is illogical to imagine that the community changed its ethnic origin. This implies that the Algerian community forms 'one' Berber community despite the fact that the majority does not speak Tamazight anymore. This is reflected in Dalila Morsly's formula (ibid.: 43):

Berberophone = Berber

Arabophone = Berber

This equation sees Algeria as being made of one homogeneous ethnic group. Indeed, a purely 'ethnic' distinction between Arab and

Berber is impossible. The CIA World Fact (2006) has also the same definition since we read: 'Arab-Berber 99%, European less than 1%'. The two communities are conventionally identified on the basis of their mother tongue.

Nevertheless, the state has long encouraged the formation of the Algerian nation as an Arab nation in order to avoid any ethnic separatism. So, most Algerians identify themselves as Arabs. There can be an Algerian who is born speaking French but still considers himself comfortably as an Arab; the best case-in-point is the first president Ahmed Ben Bella. Another one who is born speaking Tamazight may do the same, as it is the case with the second president Houari Boumediene. This shows how language and ethnicity are absolutely not related in Algeria as in some other countries.

This Arab nationalism or Arabism is one of the main problems facing not only Algeria and the Maghreb<sup>2</sup> but also the Middle East. Arab nationalism is a claim to common heritage that all Arabic speakers are united by a shared history, culture and language.

The debates in Algeria today are mainly on the cultural pluralism of the country and the recognition of its linguistic composition.

### 2.2. Language Repertoires of Algerians

#### 2.2.1. Algerian Colloquial Arabic

Algeria defines itself as part of the Arab and Muslim world. The majority of the population, as stated above, is Arabophone and mainly speaks a vernacular variety of Arabic called the Algerian colloquial Arabic (Derdja). The latter is a result of a phenomenon called 'code switching' which involves the use of Arabic and other languages (mainly French). This form of language mixing is associated with the country's colonial experience. Algeria has been conquered by the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Turkish and finally the French since 1830. From a lexical point of view, the Turkish influence can be traced in words like: ma'adnous (parsley), braniya (aubergine), tebsi (plate), etc. Spanish words can be detected in words like fitchta (feast), spedrina (baskets), bodjado (lawyer), kanasta (basket), essekouila (primary school), etc. French has the largest lexical influence; indeed, many French words are adapted to the Algerian Arabic: kusina (kitchen: 'cuisine'), miziriya (misery: 'misère'), etc. (Leclerc, 2006). Algerians today use significant amounts of French in their daily conversations. As a matter of fact, many hesitate to identify the Algerian Arabic as a true Arabic variety because it contains so much French. A recent research on a sample of 15 speakers having different characteristics (age, place of origin, place of residence, etc.) were requested to minimize their use of French, nevertheless, an average of 16% of the word count in naturalistic speech is French (Bergman, 2001).

Through the years, Arabic-French and Berber-French code switching have emerged as modes of linguistic behaviour for many Algerians (Tunisians and Moroccans as well) depending on the context of discourse. For example, the speaker may use Arabic when speaking about culture or religion, switch to French when speaking to a superior and then uses a mixture of Arabic and French codes with his family. Algerians use a widespread borrowing, constant interferences and shifts from one language to another. The varieties and patterns used depend on the geographic, social and professional environment of the individual speaker and also his emotional involvement in a topic.

<sup>1</sup> The concept 'Berber' derives from the Latin word 'barbarus' ('barbare' in French) used in the past to indicate civilizations that were not Roman, except for Greece. The Arabs used this Latin word to designate the inhabitants of North Africa as 'Barabir' in opposition to 'Roum' (Romans). Today, the term 'Berber' indicates, in general, the population of North Africa; this territory which took the name of 'Tamazgha'. However, the Berbers prefer being called 'Imazighen' (which means 'noble or free men') and which comes from the singular word 'Amazigh'. The Berbers are also called Lqbayel (Kabyles), Ihaggaren (Touaregs), etc. according to the distinction based on the specific culture and linguistic unit. From here, we can interchangeably use the words 'Berber' (as an adjective or a noun), berberity and berberophone and the terms 'Amazigh' (as an adjective), Imazighen (as a plural noun for Berbers; singular Amazigh), amazighity and amazighophone. The same applies for 'Berber language' also called 'Tamazight'.

<sup>2</sup> The Maghreb consists of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia and considers itself part of the Arab world.

Many scholars disapprove the phenomenon of code-switching used in North Africa. Al-Dawadi, for instance, describes it 'as a form of 'deviant behaviour' and as: 'an expression of a cultural illness' that requires treatment (cited by Suleiman, op. cit.: 33). In fact, Algerian Arabic and Berber varieties are considered 'sub-languages' (Eliman, 1989), 'barbarian', 'simple', 'vulgar', 'lowly patois', 'degraded systems devoid of grammatical rules' (Morsly, 1990: 81), 'unscientific languages', 'small languages', 'dialects' (Chaker, 1981: 451), and a number of other words like 'popular varieties', 'indigenous languages', etc. which stigmatise both Berber and Algerian Arabic and place them beneath the official language; the language of high status. Laroussi proposes to avoid calling these varieties by such stigmatising and pejorative words and refers to them instead as: 'languages'. (1993: 47).

Because Algerian Arabic is excluded from official life, it could not benefit from the dynamism of modernization and the structuring effect of the widespread use of written language. Yet some linguists like Benrabah (1992b, 1993, 1999) see Algerian Arabic as the best instrument for achieving modernity and reaching an authentic Algerian identity. Benrabah proposes to use this language as a teaching medium to make pupils feel more comfortable with its use. Pupils, in a natural order of language learning, learn to listen and to speak before they learn to read and write. However, the first language Algerian pupils hear and learn to speak is their mother tongue, which is mainly the Algerian colloquial Arabic and not the so-called Modern Standard Arabic or Classical Arabic.

### 2.2.2. Modern Standard Arabic & Classical Arabic

The only formal language that is officially recognized by the state is Standard Arabic in its modern form (Modern Standard Arabic or Standard Arabic), which is used in news reporting and media, most publications and formal contexts in general. The classical form (Classical Arabic, the language of Coran) is used in religious and literary recitations. Those two forms of Arabic share the same vocabulary, syntax and morphology and are called indifferently 'Fusha'.

The Arabisation (arabization) project has been set down in the Constitution, of which article three states that 'the Arabic language is the national and official language'. President Boumediene (1974) argued that:

"The transformation of the Algerian man and the recovery of his identity', should be done by 'actively pursuing the program of arabi-

cization previously embarked on, which constitutes an essential instrument for the restoration of our national personality which must emerge from the use of the national language in all areas of economic, social and cultural life'.

The concept of a 'national language' is not used to refer to the Algerian Arabic spoken by the majority of the population, but rather refers to the 'Standard Arabic' in which Algerians are supposed to find their 'authentic identity'. The quest for cultural independence involved a return to an alienated identity, so the choice of the Standard Arabic was legitimate but this decision meant for many the return to a backward, underdeveloped past because in the areas of science and technology, this language is not well equipped to communicate modern knowledge and has to be more enriched from a conceptual standpoint. There is a considerable linguistic effort to be made here.

Some of the modernizers believe that Arabic was unfit for teaching the modern sciences and continue to say that the development of the country can be achieved only through French (Grandguillaume, 1983). For them, there is a link between Arabic and underdevelopment in all these spheres. These kinds of hostilities towards Arabic, French or another language are mostly based on emotional, political and ideological factors and not only on linguistic considerations.

As we can see from the figure below, the word 'Arabic' covers a whole continuum categorizing many related varieties:

This situation is called by Ferguson 'diglossia' (1959). There is diglossia when there is inequality between languages. In Algeria, there are languages of high prestige (Standard and Classical Arabic and French) used in formal texts and those of low prestige (Algerian Colloquial Arabic and Tamazight) usually in the form of a spoken vernaculars (native tongues). But Tamazight has a growing importance and prestige in the society. A High Commission for Amazigh culture (HCA) was set up on the 29th May 1995 and teaching of Tamazight is developing.

### 2.2.3. Tamazight

In Algeria, a minority of Berberophones speaks Tamazight (whether Kabyle, Chaoui, Chenoua, Mzab, Touareg or Tshalhit, etc.). Though the presence of Tamazight is recognized as having existed for some 5000 years ago (Boukous, 1995b: 18), it has never been codified. While in Morocco, it is common to use the Arabic script to transcribe the different Berber varieties, in Algeria, it is the Latin alphabet which has been favoured. According to Tilmatine & Suleiman

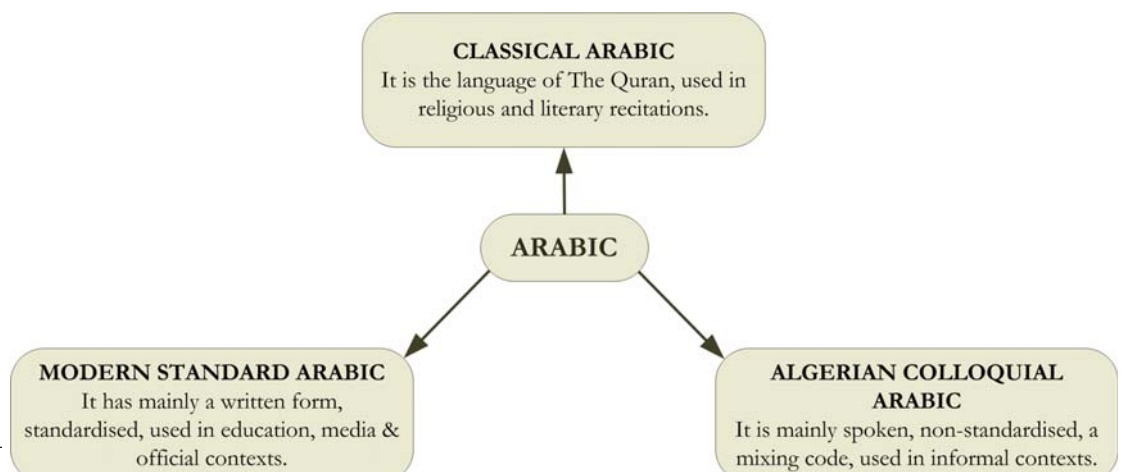


Figure 2.1: The varieties of Arabic



(1996), Berbers chose the Latin script as a symbol caricaturising their resistance and opposition to the policy of Arabisation.

Many efforts are made for the elaboration, standardization and codification of Tamazight in Algeria. For example, Salem Shaker and Mouloud Mammeri tried to develop a standardized grammar in the 1980s. In 2002, Tamazight was recognized as a national language. But Berbers are not content with this law because they sought equality between the status of Arabic and Tamazight, the latter not being an 'official' language. In addition, the constitutional amendment did not change any conditions in the principles of the Algerian society; there was no more than a formal recognition of the language's existence and no positive action has been undertaken in favour of Tamazight.

The latter continue to be considered a hindrance to the promotion of Arabic, and seen also as setting off internal ethnic divisions.

## 2.2.4. French

French has also a prominent position in society as it competes with Arabic in a number of domains, such as commerce and finance, science and technology. French maintains a privileged position in education especially in the private sector. Though used at different degrees by the whole majority, French is considered by the Constitution as a 'foreign language' (Morsly, 1984c, 1988a). President Boumediene defined the French language as: 'A foreign language which benefits from a special situation because of objective historical considerations' (Morsly, 1984c: 25). French is also discredited as 'the language of coloniser' and also as 'language of tchi-tchi' (Morsly, 1997: 16). The term 'tchi-tchi' was created to designate the elite who mostly speak French. Berbers tend to use frequently French as their medium of expression.

To escape Arabisation many parents (especially from the elite) enrolled their children in private French schools to ensure a bilingual education for them, but in February 2006, President Abdel Aziz Bouteflika has ordered 42 private French-language schools to be closed for 'linguistic deviation'. (Arezki Aït-Larbi, 2006). The rapid Arabisation, in fact, caused a state of 'semi-bilingualism' in most Algerians (Moatassime, 1992), meaning that they possess a passive knowledge of both: Modern Standard Arabic and French.

Despite the established language policy, French continues to be regarded as necessary for social and professional success, although further research is needed to confirm this.

## 3. LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

### 3.1. Definitions

'Language policy' is designed to favour or discourage the use of a language or a set of languages. It determines how languages are used in public and official context and establish the rights of individuals to learn, use, and maintain languages.

In Algeria, this policy is resumed in one word: 'Arabisation', a policy of monolingualism (unilingualism) favouring Arabic as the official language and largely without any measures to protect and develop the other existing languages. For many years, the government undermined Berber language rights despite their protests; Berbers have clashed repeatedly with the police. This demonstrates how language

policy is directly linked to power.

The concept of 'language planning' has been given different definitions by different specialists. But they all distinguish two major activities :

(1) Corpus planning, which is a purely linguistic activity (graphic representation, standardization, functions of and attitudes toward the language). Among the most significant definitions, we have that of Gorman (1973: 73) who considers that the notion of language planning as 'measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon'.

(2) Status planning, which is a political and/or administrative activity. Fishman (1974b: 791) defines language planning as an 'organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level'.

However, language planning may include both linguistic and politico-administrative activities expected to focus on problem-solving as Karam (1974: 105) indicates by defining language planning as 'an activity which attempts to solve a language problem usually on a national scale, and which focuses on either language form or language use or both'. Both status and corpus planning require official intervention in order to be effective.

In Algeria, language planning is solely concerned with the adaptation, manipulation, and standardization of Standard Arabic.

### 3.2. Algerian Language Planning

It was Algeria's first president, Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-65), who proclaimed his adherence to Arab nationalism repeating in French: 'We are Arabs, we are Arabs, we are Arabs'. It was he who initiated the policy of linguistic Arabisation in the country's primary schools, in the social sciences and humanities. In the 1980s Arabic began to be introduced as the language of instruction in some grades at the secondary level. Algeria completed its transition to Arabic in 1989, when the first class of twelfth-graders graduated from a completely Arabic education. Article 5 of the 1963 Constitution made Arabic the sole national language and official language of the Algerian state. Then, the National Charter of 1976 stressed the importance of the Arabic language in the definition of the cultural identity of the Algerian people because '*[The Algerian] personality cannot be separated from the language which expresses it*<sup>3</sup>'. Arabic is considered to be the only officially recognized language of the nation.

Language planning concerns '*decision making about language*' (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: XII) and the problem with this policy is that it has been imposed onto the society from 'above', i.e. from rulers, and gave no space for public discussion and debate (Owen, 2000: 241). But one could perhaps argue that the Algerian population, being Muslim in its majority, links the Arabic language to Islam. The process of Arabisation was therefore largely symbolic for them and this explains why there was (and still is?) a strong and profound thrust for Arabisation. Modern Standard Arabic has always been considered a crucial medium of instruction because it is the language of prestige and the first marker of Arab nationalism, as it is the most potent symbol of Arab-Islamic culture and its transmission. This can be connected to the well known slogan of the leader Abdelhamid Ben Badis during

<sup>3</sup> The quote is translated from Arabic, available in: <http://www.conseilconstitution-neldz.org/Arabe/IndexArab.htm>, accessed on: 05/09/2005.

the Algerian struggle for independence: '*Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language and Algeria is our nation*' (Grandguillaume, 1983: 96) which makes no mention of Amazigh. Berbers have long showed their disapproval of this slogan but also of many laws regulating the official linguistic use, especially those on the generalization of the use of the Arabic language<sup>4</sup>. Salem Chaker argued that there is a radical incompatibility between the claims of Berbers and the Algerian nation-state, because the Berber dimension cannot be easily integrated in the Algerian nationalism based partly on the Arabic language (1993: 15). Nevertheless, Parliament approved a constitutional amendment to make the language of the country's Berber minority, Tamazight, a national language. But this recognition was not followed by a corpus and status planning.

Out of thirty laws, Articles 11, 12, 18, 23, and 32 are the most controversial for Berbers. Article 11, for instance, stresses on the fact that all administrative correspondence must be conducted in Arabic. Article 18 orders that television broadcasts, declarations, conferences and interventions be conducted in Arabic. Article 32 states that whoever signs an official document edited in a language other than the Arabic language is liable to a fine of 1000 to 5000 DA (Algerian Dinar). If the breach is repeated, the fine is doubled. Article 12, however, allows using another language in international relations.

Obviously, these laws do not take into account the sociolinguistic reality of the country. Standard Arabic has become the official language despite the fact that no one actually grows up speaking it, as it is not the main media language. The prevalence of French in media and business life is a fact noted by most researchers (Gill, 1999); whilst the mother tongues (the vernaculars) - Algerian Arabic and Tamazight - were simply ignored.

As a matter of fact, the present language policy is not conforming to the expressed attitudes of those involved. Berbers demonstrate a negative attitude towards different aspects of the Arabisation process. In addition, this policy based 'only' on the Arabic identity is not in tune with the wide existing social trends.

In fact, the Algerian language policy intended to make Algerians learn the national language and, in time, make all vernaculars disappear. Obviously, Algeria is following the French model, referred to as the Jacobin model (Grandguillaume, 1997): France, confronted with a more or less similar linguistic reality, regards linguistic unity as a factor of its national unity, so other languages on its territory have been undermined to the point of near extinction. It clearly seems that Algeria shares the same conception of the indivisibility principle. But this question arises now more than ever before in terms of fundamental rights. The matter is to grant legal statute to Tamazight and to recognize linguistic rights to their speakers. Yet although some fractions within the Berber population are calling for their 'rights', others<sup>5</sup> advocate for the 'autonomy' of the Kabyle region in the same way as some Catalonians, Flemish, Welsh and Scottish peoples.

In addition, in 1993, under the presidency of Chadli Bendjedid, there was an attempt to replace French by English; the government introduced English into the primary schools (in the fourth grade of basic education) as a concurrent language to French. According to Grandguillaume, there was no real linguistic objective in this operation because the government was much more interested in the suppression of French than with the promotion of English (2001). Basically, the state was not against French as a linguistic medium but

against the culture it carries; a language is not merely an instrument of communication, it is also a culture. English was seen as a more 'neutral' language than French.

The competition between French and English in schools has quickly ended in favour of the former: From 4.617.728 pupils registered in the Algerian primary school in 1995/1996, only 59.007 of them chose English instead of French as a foreign language, i.e. only 01,27 % of the total pupils (Ministry of National Education, 1996/1998). Two years later, the number of registered pupils in English classes decreased because of the unfavourable educational conditions. These official statistical data show how this language planning was inadequate and ill-considered.

Decision makers and developers made also wrong decisions with regard to Arabisation in education. As stated in 2.2.4. Arabisation resulted in an insufficient command of the Arabic language. Ahmed Djebbar (1995), the ex-Minister of Education in Algiers from 1992 to 1994, says that it is partly due to the inadequate content and method of Arabic language teaching and the marginalisation of foreign languages.

Lately, President Bouteflika promoted the work of the CNRSE (National Commission on Reforming the Education System), set up in February 2000, which submitted a report of planned reforms a year later. One of its plans is to develop translation from and into Arabic and to teach French in the second grade of primary school. This is doubtless a good step to language planning but much is needed to be considered especially the demands and benefits of multilingualism. And above all, time is short, very short.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The above discussion provides a general outline of the main ideas on the Algerian language policy. The linguistic conflicts are not between the existing languages but rather between Algerians who interpret differently the facts of the objective reality. The emergence of these problems invites Algeria to reconsider the question of minority languages in its Constitution.

Any policy for language has to take into account the attitude of those likely to be affected in order to be coherent and democratic. Therefore, democratic language policies in Algeria have to respond to the questions of how Algerians' languages can be given an equal chance to develop. It is important to point out that the development of a nation goes hand in hand with the development of its language(s). So, it is high time for language policies to be more engaged in economic development, education and political reforms.

When a linguistic situation is felt to be unsatisfactory, there must be a room for a program of language planning. Language is a social, cultural and political artefact. Therefore debates on language policies in Algeria are of concern to all Algerians. A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, that are actually one, make up this soul, this spiritual principle. One is in the past; the other is the present (Renan, 1882: 26). One has to learn from past errors and construct a future in which all Algerians will hopefully be fluent in at least two languages of their choice. That is a true challenge, since this decision will involve the kind of development and social interaction in which the next generation will have to find their fulfilment.

<sup>4</sup> Law n° 91-05 from 1991 completed through law n° 96-30 from 1996.

<sup>5</sup> Like Ferhat Mehenni, the leader of the Movement for Autonomy in Kabylia : MAK

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